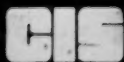


NOTE

This Microfiche meets the quality requirements of the American National Standard for Microfiche of Documents (ANSI PH5.9-1975). However, because of imperfections in the document from which it was made, it contains images that are illegible or difficult to read. The source document for this microfiche is the best copy that could be obtained prior to filming.



Congressional Information Service
Washington, D.C.

SENATE HISTORY



Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-7108

January 1989

Number 13

Announcing Publication of
**The Senate, 1789-1989:
Addresses On the History of the United States Senate
by Senator Robert C. Byrd**

Early in 1980, Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd initiated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By the end of 1988 he had delivered more than one hundred separate speeches on subjects ranging from the activities of the Senate during the First Congress to the Senate's role in the Watergate investigation.

The Senate agreed in 1987 to publish these addresses in suitably illustrated book-length versions as a major component of its bicentennial commemoration. The first of an anticipated four volumes was issued by the Government Printing Office early in January. Its thirty-nine chapters treat the story of the Senate's

development from 1789 through the 1980's. The 800-page book includes more than 250 historical photographs and other illustrations.

In his foreword to volume one, William E. Leuchtenburg, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, observes that this study is without parallel in the two centuries of the Senate's existence. "Never before has a distinguished member of the United States Senate carried to completion a comprehensive history of the Senate, drawing both upon his own insights and recollections and the most recent work of scholars. This prodigious narrative," continues Leuchtenburg, "makes a generous and significant contribution to celebrating the bicentennial of what has been called the greatest deliberative body in the world." Additional volumes, with a topical rather than chronological structure, will be published late in 1989.



Senator Robert C. Byrd examines his new book with Editor Sherry Hall and Senate Historian Richard Baker.

Copies of Senator Robert C. Byrd's *The Senate: 1789-1989*, volume one, may be purchased by check, money order, VISA, Mastercard, or Superintendent of Documents Deposit Account from the Superintendent of Documents at a cost of \$55.00, including postage. Please include Senate Document Number 100-20 and Stock Number 052-071-00823-3 when ordering. Credit card orders may be phoned to (202) 783-3238. Mail orders should be sent to:
Superintendent of Documents
The Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C. 20402

The Biographical Directory of the United States Congress

Over the course of two centuries, from 1789 to 1989, more than 11,000 Americans have served as members of the United States Congress. Among them are Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun. Also included are fourteen John Smiths, seven John Joneses, and five Frelinghuysens. In honor of the 1989 congressional bicentennial, the Senate and House historical offices and the Joint Committee on Printing have recently published the fifteenth edition of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989*.

The new edition of the directory provides the first revision of this widely used reference book since 1971. The 2,100-page volume includes biographies of all Senators, Representatives, Delegates, Resident Commissioners and Vice Presidents. It also contains a roster of Members of the Continental Congresses from 1774 to 1789, as well as lists of state congressional delegations and

continued on page 3

Senate Bicentennial Activities

- Calendar of Events, p. 2
- *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress, 1774-1989*, p. 1
- Understanding Congress, A Bicentennial Research Conference, p. 2
- Robert C. Byrd's *The Senate: 1789-1989*, p. 1

"Understanding Congress" Bicentennial Research Conference February 9-10, 1989

A two-day conference on the theme of "Understanding Congress," will be held on February 9-10, in the Senate and House Caucus Rooms, under the auspices of the Congressional Research Service and the Senate and House Commissions on the Bicentennial. The keynote speaker will be David McCullough, author, host of the "Smithsonian World" television series, and narrator of a new documentary film, "The Congress." Members of Congress, historians, political scientists, and journalists have been invited to participate in various panel discussions during the conference. These proceedings are expected to be televised by C-SPAN. Professor Roger Davidson will then edit papers and commentary for publication as a book, to further research on the historic and future roles of the U.S. Congress.

A panel of senators and representatives from both parties will open the conference with a congressional roundtable discussion on "What We Ought to Know About Congress," chaired by *Washington Post* columnist David Broder.

Robert Caro, Pulitzer-prize winning biographer of Lyndon Johnson, will offer his observations on the problems of writing Congressional biography, with commentary by former Senator Russell Long and Richard Lowitt, author of a three-volume biography of Senator George Norris.

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Senate History is published on an occasional basis by the United States Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. 20510 (202-224-6900). Copies are available without cost. Individuals and institutions may request to be added to the mailing list for this publication.

Editor Richard A. Baker

Layout and Design John O. Hamilton

Calendar of Senate Bicentennial Events 1989-1990

The Congress of the United States completes its second century in the spring of 1989. To promote broader public understanding of the national government's "First Branch" during this significant anniversary, the Senate Bicentennial Commission is coordinating the following commemorative activities in 1989 and 1990.

1989

*** January 3 ***

PUBLICATION: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989: Bicentennial Edition.*

*** February 9-10 ***

CONFERENCE: "Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference." Sponsored by the U.S. Congress, the Library of Congress, the Lyndon Johnson Presidential Library, and the Dirksen Congressional Center.

PUBLICATION: *Guide to Records of the United States Senate at the National Archives, 1789-1989.*

EXHIBIT: "The Tides of Party Politics: Two Centuries of Congressional Elections." Library of Congress.

*** February 22 ***

PUBLICATION: Senator Robert C. Byrd's *The Senate: 1789-1989, Addresses on the History of the United States Senate.*

*** March 2 ***

JOINT MEETING OF CONGRESS: House chamber. To commemorate the 200th anniversary (March 4) of Congress's first meeting.

EXHIBIT: "The First Federal Congress: 1789-1791." The National Portrait Gallery. Sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. Congress.

*** March 20 ***

FILM: *The Congress.* Nationwide premiere on PBS Television of Ken Burns' 90-minute documentary film on Congress. Nine o'clock p.m., Eastern Time. Underwritten by Ameritech and produced by WETA-TV.

*** April 6 ***

CEREMONY: Senate chamber. Special Senate session to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Senate's first quorum.

POSTAGE STAMP: First Day of Issue Ceremony for a commemorative postage stamp in honor of the Senate's 200th anniversary.

PUBLICATION: Senator Bob Dole's *Senate Historical Almanac.*

*** April 24 ***

PUBLICATION: *The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates.* A project of the First Federal Congress Project, the George Washington University.

*** June 6 ***

EXHIBIT: "A Necessary Fence"... The United States Senate in Its First One Hundred Years. Produced by the Office of Senate Curator. Sponsored by the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Senate.

*** September 21-22 ***

CONFERENCE: "The Judiciary Act of 1789." Co-sponsored by the Judicial Conference of the United States, Georgetown University, and the Supreme Court Historical Society.

*** September 28 ***

EXHIBIT: "'To make all Laws...': The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989." Library of Congress.

1990

*** January 15 - February 5 ***

PUBLIC PROGRAM: "The Senate Goes to the Movies." Library of Congress. A presentation of feature films, documentaries, and public affairs programs that have focused on the Senate during the past century.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Senate Bicentennial Commission

Historical Office
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-7108
(202) 224-6900

Office of the Curator
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-7102
(202) 224-2955

Biographical Directory

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elected officers for each of the one hundred Congresses.

The current volume has its roots in Charles Lanman's *Dictionary of Congress*, published in 1859. Grandson of a Connecticut senator, private secretary to Daniel Webster, and newspaper editor, Lanman was one of the many journalists who came to Washington in search of a steady income from preparing publications used by federal officials. While serving in a variety of patronage jobs, including first librarian of the House of Representatives, Lanman prepared his biographical directory, which he hoped would yield handsome profits. The effusiveness of his *Dictionary* entries reflected Lanman's care not to offend Members, whom he saw as potential patrons. Unfortunately for him, his attempts to secure passage of a resolution providing for the purchase of a copy of his *Dictionary* for every Member were thwarted in the chaos preceding the Civil War.

After the Civil War, Lanman succeeded in winning congressional approval for a new edition, but by the late 1860s, he had attracted a rival. Congressional support of the volume, though erratic, made it a lucrative venture. Another journalist and patronage hunter, Benjamin Perley Poore, wished to share in the profits. For a while the two men published competing compendiums of congressional biographies until Lanman withdrew in 1887.

In 1903, Congress authorized the publication of *A Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774-1903*. Though prepared by congressional staff, the volume drew heavily on the Lanman and Poore editions, uncritically including most of their laudatory biographies. A second edition followed in 1913.

The most systematic revision attempted prior to the present volume was conducted for the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, published in 1928. In an effort to verify existing data and add pertinent new information, the Joint Committee on Printing distributed questionnaires through postmasters in hometowns of all

former Members. Harried government clerks, proud descendants, and local historians provided useful, if not uniformly reliable, new information.

While the survey yielded more detailed biographies for the 1928 volume, reliance on filiopietistic legends and fading memories introduced questionable information into the volume. The 1913 edition, for instance, lists a one-term New Jersey congressman, John Thomas Dunn. Born in Ireland, Dunn emigrated to the United States with his father and completed studies at home before studying law. In the 1928 edition, thanks to the information from relatives, the early life of Dunn became a Dickensian tale of the early death of his mother, hardship and abuse in a foster home, running away as a cabin boy on a West Indies trader, work as a bobbin boy in a textile mill and other instances of child labor in several metal works factories. Additional editions of the *Directory* appeared in 1950, 1960 and 1971, but entries like Dunn's from the 1928 edition remained essentially intact.

The creation of the Senate Historical Office in 1975 and the Office for the Bicentennial in the House of Representatives in 1983 provided the first opportunity for professional historians to revise and update the *Biographical Directory*. A resolution adopted by the 99th Congress directed the Senate Historical Office to prepare all entries for Senators, including the more than six hundred Representatives who also served in the Senate, and charged the Office for the Bicentennial with preparation of entries for all others who served in the House and for delegates to the Continental Congress. Drs. Kathryn Allamong Jacob of the Senate Historical Office and Bruce A. Ragsdale of the House Office for the Bicentennial have served as editors-in-chief of this bicentennial edition of the *Biographical Directory*. Duane Nystrom of the Joint Committee on Printing prepared updated rosters for Congresses since 1971.

Past editions of the *Biographical Directory* contained curiously little information on the actual congressional careers of their subjects other than dates of service. For the bicentennial edition, the editors have included references to committee chairmanships and all major,

formal party leadership posts. This edition also includes citations to a maximum of two significant books or articles for each Representative and Senator who has been the subject of scholarly publications.

The editors have compared entries in previous editions with standard reference works and primary sources to verify as much data as possible. Political party designations traditionally have spawned the largest number of errors. Editors of the 1913 and 1928 editions created anachronistic party labels for Members of the earliest Congresses who previously lacked such indentifications. Many entries ignored the frequent shifts in party affiliation during the nineteenth century or omitted reference to short-lived and regional political parties. For instance, in the hands of earlier editors, Greenbackers became Republicans, robbing the political past of its vigor and rich diversity. The task of revising party labels for the new edition drew heavily on the recent work of Dr. Kenneth C. Martis of West Virginia University, whose research for *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789-1989* (Macmillan, 1988) required examination of records from the more than thirty thousand congressional elections held since 1788.

In 1868, Horace Greeley, a former colleague and mentor of Charles Lanman, advised Lanman to cut all ties with the Congress and forget his efforts to have the Members support his *Dictionary*. Greeley did "not see how any book that Congress patronizes can be good for anything, since it cannot afford to tell unpleasant truths." Past editions of the *Biographical Directory* have contained very little that was not of the most complimentary nature. The entry in the 1971 edition for Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, for example, makes no mention of his 1954 Senate censure. Hoping to prove Greeley wrong, the current edition does not avoid "unpleasant truths" in including references to the disciplining and expulsion of former Members.

During the five years spent preparing this bicentennial edition of the *Biographical Directory*, the editors have become increasingly aware of the degree to which this volume will always be a

work in progress. Three former Senators have died since the volume was typeset in mid-1988. The present revision, however, has provided an opportunity to make the *Biographical Directory* a more reliable and consistent historical record and, by reflecting the great diversity of its membership, commemorate the bicentennial of an enduring Congress.

Copies of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-1989* may be purchased by check, money order, VISA, Mastercard, or Superintendent of Documents Deposit Account from the Superintendent of Documents at a cost of \$82.00, including postage. Please include Senate Document Number 100-34 and Stock Number 052-071-00699-1 when ordering. Credit card orders may be phoned to (202) 783-3238. Mail orders should be sent to: Superintendent of Documents, The Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

Hildenbrand, Tames, and Shuman Oral Histories Open

William Hildenbrand

There are so many things that entered into a member making up his mind on how he's going to vote, that you have to take all of those factors into consideration. You can't just say because Barry Goldwater is a conservative therefore he will vote for a conservative position. There may be a personality problem. There may be something that somebody did for him and he's going to pay a favor back. I spent a lot of time on the floor. I knew the members. I knew their voting records pretty well. I watched them for so many years. . . . You really have to know who these people are and what their personalities are, what their relationships are, who they're close to, who they listen to. All of those things make up a part of being able to count votes.

William F. Hildenbrand gained a reputation as one of the Senate's best "head counters." Starting in 1961, on the staff of Delaware Republican J. Caleb Boggs, Hildenbrand was drawn

like a magnet to the activities on the Senate floor, where he learned its practices, procedures, and personalities. In 1969, he was invited to become an administrative assistant in the Republican Whip's office. By 1974, Bill Hildenbrand was elected Secretary for the Minority, a post he held under Republican leaders



Hugh Scott and Howard Baker. Ever-present on the Senate floor, he kept careful watch over both legislation and legislators, keeping the leadership apprised of how members were likely to vote. When the Republicans won the majority in the Senate in 1980, Hildenbrand was elected Secretary of the Senate, a post he held until his retirement in 1984. As Secretary, Hildenbrand was called both "the total Senate man," and the "101st Senator." Or, as he once described his role: "I can do anything a senator can do, but vote." His 347-page interview opened on January 20, 1989.

George Tames

When I first came up here the whole Congress was off-limits to photographers. In '38 and '39 the photographers were literally sitting on their camera boxes on the Senate side of the Capitol, down by the steps, and watching members as they walked over from the Old Senate Office Building, which is the Russell Building today. Coming toward them, they would photograph them. All

the corridors were off-limits. All the committees were off-limits. Only at the discretion of the chairman were you allowed in, and you were allowed in for just enough time to make one or two shots and then get out. This was carried over through the post-war period until television started breaking down the barriers. By that time, the still photographers had broken down the barriers in the majority of the committees, but there were still a few committees that were being chaired by senators who had been there quite a few years, who did not want photographers to be operating freely. Judiciary was one of them. Ways and Means on the House side was another one. But with the advent of television, these committees have opened up.



George Tames was born in the shadow of the Capitol Dome, in a Washington alley house. The son of an immigrant pushcart peddler, he worked his way up from office boy to photographer for *Time-Life* during World War II, and for *The New York Times* from 1945 to 1985. Although he covered a wide variety of political events in Washington, Tames made the Capitol press galleries his primary base of operations. There he defined his own assignments, following bits of information and inside tips to decide who and what to photograph. As the *Times'* Washington bureau chief, James Reston, once observed, Tames' camera got him into

places closed to other reporters. He observed such senators as Hubert Humphrey, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Howard Baker close-hand, engaged them in informal banter, and overheard their deliberations. In 198 pages of oral history transcripts, Tames recalls some of the stories behind his more celebrated photographs, and presents another dimension to his perspective of the Senate through the camera's lens.

Howard Shuman

There is something people don't really understand very well about the way Senate floor functions. The legislative process... really is not a process in the sense of a factory assembly line where things come in order and go down the line and a wheel is put on here and a motor is put in there and it all comes out as a whole at the end. That isn't the way it works. It's more like a barroom brawl than it is an orderly process that one can study. That's true of almost everything, the legislative process, the budgetary process. Everybody talks about process. Baloney! It's a barroom brawl. The Senate action is very much like getting out a newspaper in the sense that you have to work very fast, write quickly and accurately, speak or issue a statement, forget it and go on to something else the next day.

As an aide to Senators Paul Douglas and William Proxmire, between 1955 and 1982, Howard Shuman participated in his share of legislative "brawls." During the 1950's and '60's, he helped carry the banner for civil rights, fought against oil and gas interests, and promoted the many other liberal issues on Senator Douglas' agenda. Shuman came to see politics as "struggle and strife" during the years Lyndon Johnson prevailed as Majority Leader, Richard Russell led the powerful Southern Democratic bloc, and Robert Kerr dominated the Finance Committee. At first, these forces regularly defeated Senator Douglas's efforts, but Shuman recounts how Douglas's allies steadily overcame the filibuster to enact the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and other landmark reform legislation. During the 1970's, Shuman continued the struggle, while administrative assistant to Senator



Proxmire, in support of "Truth in Lending" laws and in opposition to the SST. Shuman's 631-page oral history is now open for research.

Copies of the Shuman, Tames, and Hildenbrand interviews have been deposited in the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Legislative Division of the National Archives. A microfiche edition will also be distributed by Scholarly Resources, Inc., Willmington, DE 19805-1897.

Brien McMahon Papers at Georgetown Open for Research

The Georgetown University Library has recently announced the completion of the processing of the papers of Senator Brien McMahon (1903-1952), who represented Connecticut from 1944 to 1952. The McMahon papers were a gift to the university in 1986 from Mrs. Patricia M. Fox, the senator's daughter. At Georgetown the McMahon papers join the archives of other senators, including those of Robert F. Wagner of New York and Earle B. Mayfield of Texas.

McMahon was an early architect of civilian control of atomic energy and the first Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The Atomic Energy Act bears his name. Of him President Truman observed:

"Senator McMahon was one of the first to see the fantastic possibilities for good in the wise use of atomic power."

Previous to his senatorial career McMahon had been the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division at the Department of Justice (1935-1939). Perhaps his most famous case was the prosecution of coal operators in "bloody" Harlan County, who were accused of conspiracy in denying miners their right to organize under the Wagner Labor Relations Act. This was the first prosecution under that act, and in the course of the case McMahon was shot at from ambush and two of his key witnesses were killed.

The McMahon archives consist of seventeen linear feet of material, including correspondence, manuscripts, speeches, phonograph records, photographs, and related printed items. The collection primarily deals with McMahon's tenure as Assistant Attorney General. There is valuable material on a variety of topics, including the Harlan County trial; Democratic politics of the 1930s and 1940s, both local and national; and McMahon's Senate campaigns. In addition, there is material regarding his two Senate terms, although the bulk of his senatorial papers are at the Library of Congress.

The collection, now completely processed with an indexed register, is open to researchers. For more information they may contact the Manuscripts Librarian, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C. 20057. (202) 687-7444.

The Frank Church Papers at Boise State University

by Ralph W. Hansen

Boise State University's experience with Senator Frank Church's papers offers special insight into the perils associated with the archival acquisition of major senatorial research collections.

In 1980, when Church lost his bid for a fifth term in the U.S. Senate, his staff queried Boise State and other Idaho institutions about their interest in becoming the permanent repository for his Senate office files and personal papers.

Boise State expressed interest but, for reasons unknown to us, the papers went to Stanford University, Church's alma mater. Over 1,100 boxes, mail pouches, and map rolls were delivered to Stanford in late 1980 and early 1981. A few boxes were apparently lost in transit. The collection was stored in the basement of Stanford's Green Library in anticipation that funds would be forthcoming to hire the necessary processing staff. However, funding did not materialize. The collection was accessible through rather complete packing lists. Scholars granted permission to use the collection at Stanford were able to find material with some difficulty.

The impetus for transferring the Church papers to Boise State came from BSU President John Keiser during a discussion with Senator Church about the Frank Church Chair of Public Affairs. President Keiser's observation that the papers should be united with the chair struck a responsive cord with Church. Thereupon, President Keiser instructed the university librarian to make an inquiry. Since I had been the university archivist at Stanford for seventeen years, I was delegated to make the preliminary approach. Stanford was receptive, asking only that Church make a formal request to Stanford's president. In mid-April, with the help of a contributed Boise Cascade semi-trailer truck, the collection was moved to temporary storage in the basement of the Idaho State Library, while a climate controlled facility was under construction in the BSU Library.

The original transfer of the Church papers to Stanford had been a routine occurrence for that major research institution. When the collection was moved to BSU, however, the story went out over the wire services as a major media event. It particularly attracted the interest of certain parties in Washington, DC. Soon we received a telephone call from the federal Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO) with an offer to send out a "team" to go through the papers looking for classified documents. Somewhat taken aback, we responded that we would take the offer "under advisement."

Then, using the packing lists to identify boxes which might contain sen-

sitive materials we searched in vain for the ubiquitous classified stamp. Simultaneously, we contacted Mrs. Church and former Church staff members to ascertain Church's policy on keeping classified documents with his office files. Mrs. Church and the staff emphatically stated that no classified papers were kept but rather were placed in the pertinent committee files or the National Archives. We so informed ISOO and indicated that there was no cause for them to seek permission to examine the papers. The correctness of that information has been confirmed now that we have completed processing of the collection. No sensitive documents of any kind were found in the papers, somewhat to our disappointment.

One final event closed this chapter. A "leak" reporting BSU's reluctance to invite the ISOO to Boise appeared in a Washington newsletter and was picked up by *Newsweek*. Because there was no further contact with the ISOO after the initial inquiry, we were at a loss as to what purpose this report was to serve. The only responses to the "leak" were from citizens and scholars monitoring the government's efforts to extend its role in classifying seemingly nonconfidential papers.

Our immediate challenge, as with most congressional papers projects, was to find the financial support necessary to process such a large and diverse collection. Federal or state legislative funding seemed unlikely. Foundations declined to support this kind of project and the university was already in the midst of a fund raising effort for the Frank Church Chair of Public Affairs.

Hat in hand, we went to the Idaho Humanities Council (IHC), which informed us that some years ago they had decided not to fund processing projects, but that the importance of the Church papers justified their consideration of a proposal. At the IHC review meeting, a visiting member of the National Endowment for the Humanities incorrectly informed the IHC board that the NEH funded the processing of congressional papers, and fortified with that information, the IHC turned down our request.

Not long thereafter, an official of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission visited Boise and

urged us to submit a funding request to the commission. During the interim, before the commission met to consider requests, we received several phone calls from other repositories most interested in learning how we would fare with our proposal. We then realized that our chances for success were indeed slim, for the commission lacked the resources to fund all of the projects that would step forward, should we be successful. The Idaho State Archivist who was at the commission meeting informed us that the commission thought very highly of our proposal, but elected not to fund it. However, as a result of its deliberations on the issue of funding the preservation and processing of congressional papers, the commission did make recommendations that may well bear fruit in the future. Our effort was not in vain.

At this point the Idaho Humanities Council came back into the picture and encouraged the library to resubmit its proposal with a matching component, an element we did not have in the first document. This time we were successful and the IHC granted BSU \$16,008 and the BSU Foundation provided \$32,385 in matching funds. While we had already accomplished some processing with temporary and part-time staff, this influx of new money turned the project into a veritable beehive of activity.

At the outset of our processing effort, we encountered many difficulties. Thanks, however, to the help and advice of others with experience in similar projects, we were able to reach a desirable level of sophistication. We learned to expect surprises. Early in our processing effort we made a disturbing discovery. With the Church papers there were six boxes of Senator Paul Douglas's papers and four boxes of Senator Thomas Dodd's papers. This gave rise to the fear that the missing Church boxes languished with other unprocessed collections. The wayward files were forwarded to the appropriate repositories.

Besides completing processing of the papers, two other accomplishments are worth noting. The first is the level of descriptive control we achieved over the audio-visual materials and the second is the production of an on-line index using "Q & A" software. All of the 750 audio recordings and the 400 separate films and

videos were reviewed, timed, and indexed by speakers, those spoken about, bills discussed, government agencies named, and specific historical events. Key words have been applied to give the user the broadest possible access to the collection, and a brief description has been prepared for each sound and visual recording. As processing proceeded, index information was entered into the data base. Included are significant correspondence, bills and legislation, the folder heading, and any additional topics, identified within each folder. The "Q & A" index has provided us with a very powerful finding tool, making it possible for us to respond easily to mail inquiries about named individuals or delimited subjects.

Even while the processing effort was in its early stages researchers came to Boise to use the collection. This was a small inconvenience to the processing effort, but a unique opportunity for the staff to interact with users. The collection is now fully ready for use, with only the case files closed until 1994. Students from BSU and other educational institutions have begun to mine the Church collection. They and visiting scholars have enthusiastically praised the collection's accessibility. We could ask for no more.

Strom Thurmond Papers

The Clemson University Libraries are pleased to announce that the papers of Strom Thurmond are now open for research. The papers, presently comprising over 2,000 cubic feet of material, document the life of Thurmond, a former Governor of South Carolina and currently the senior U.S. Senator from South Carolina.

Seven series are currently available for research, along with scrapbooks, photographs, cartoons and certificates; more series are in the process of being opened. They are a rich resource for historians of the twentieth century and are especially valuable for documenting legislative history, the States' Rights Democratic Party, and issues such as defense and civil rights. The collection is also a useful source for the history of South Carolina, particularly the political sphere.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Hearing Featured in Senate Foreign Relations Committee Volume

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and early U.S. involvement in Vietnam are documented in Volume XVI of *Executive Sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Historical Series)*, released in 1988.

These hearings, conducted during 1964, include repeated assurances from Johnson administration officials that the United States did not seek a wider military involvement in Vietnam. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told Senator Wayne Morse: "We are not ourselves seeking a military course of action, Senator. We have made it very clear to everybody on both sides of the Curtain, the free world as well as in the Communist world, that the United States has no military interest in Southeast Asia. We want no bases there; we want no military presence there."

Similarly, General Maxwell Taylor testified that he saw no need to increase American troops in South Vietnam (then estimated at 23,000) in the coming year. Gen. Taylor insisted that there were no "new departures in policy" planned and that the United States would not embark on "any dramatic venture" until a government existed in South Vietnam that could "guarantee the effectiveness of its own armed forces."

After the incident in the Gulf of Tonkin that triggered the Congressional resolution, Senator Morse charged that South Vietnamese naval boats had been bombarding North Vietnamese islands in the Gulf. "We knew those boats were going up there, and that naval action was a clear act of aggression against the territory of North Vietnam, and our ships were in Tonkin Bay, in international waters, but nevertheless they were in Tonkin Bay to be interpreted as a standing as a cover for naval operations of South Vietnam," said Morse, one of only two members of Congress to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. However, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara denied knowledge of any such attacks and insisted that the *Maddox* -- the American ship fired upon by

a North Vietnamese gunboat -- had been operating in international waters and carrying out routine patrols. In later years it was revealed that the *Maddox* was conducting electronic surveillance of North Vietnam.

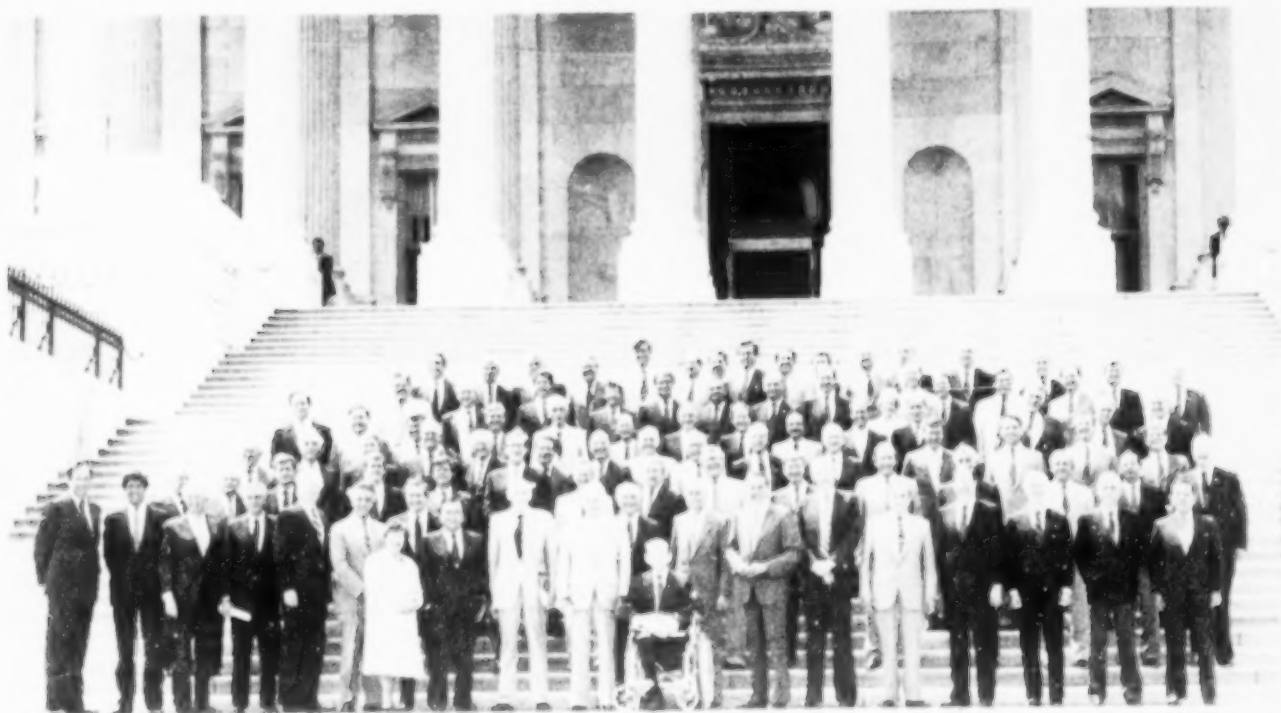
When retiring U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge gave the committee a highly positive assessment of the situation in Vietnam, Senator George Aiken recalled that the previous ambassador had also given the committee a rosy picture of the future. "In fact, it was so rosy that most of us didn't believe it," said Aiken. "The only conclusion I can draw is that South Vietnam looks much better to an Ambassador when he is leaving it behind him."

A limited supply of this volume remains in stock at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Those interested in being added to the regular mailing list for the "Historical Series" should notify the Senate Historical Office.

Understanding Congress

continued from page 2

New York Times correspondent Steven Roberts will discuss press reporting of Congress, while Professor Fred Israel, editor of a historical series of Gallup Polls, will analyze long-term trends in public opinion on Congress. Louis Fisher and Robert Katzmann will focus on the separation of powers from Capitol Hill's perspective, with commentary by Judge James Buckley, a former senator currently serving as a federal judge. Professor Anna Nelson and Dr. Raymond Smock will present the paradox of source material that presents congressional researchers with both an abundance and paucity of documentation. Other members of Congress and congressional scholars have been invited to serve as commentators at these sessions, to ensure a lively discussion of the issues.



Members of the Senate Historical Society, May 20, 1966

Senate History
Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
Washington, DC 20510-7108

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